2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

back an exhaustive account of their subsistence pattern and material culture as well as considerable data on religion and ceremonial life. According to modern interests, the report is weak in life-cycle data and economics, and a serious drawback is the almost complete lack of comparative considerations. Moreover, it describes a culture with marked European influences. Nevertheless, at this writing, it remains one of our most complete accounts of an aboriginal South American group. The remaining titles in the bibliography refer to linguistic treatises, hearsay accounts, and phantasies of hurried travelers.

The inaccessibility of their habitat facilitated the *Cayapa's* survival into the 20th century, but it also prevented most chroniclers from visiting their land. Early references to naked and painted Indians living along the Patia River in large houses on tall poles and wearing gold ornaments might refer to the *Cayapa* or to some other *Chibchan* people. Jijón y Caamaño (1940–45, vol. 2) has reproduced fragments from an unpublished Cabello Balboa chronicle discussing the people of Esmeraldas Province during the 16th century. Among the peoples figuring prominently in Cabello Balboa's report are the *Nigua*, an Indian group inhabiting traditional *Cayapa* territory. Jijón y Caamaño's suggestion (1940–45, vol. 2) that the *Nigua* and *Cayapa* are one people seems tentatively acceptable.

Both peoples claimed to have descended from the Andean Highlands, though it is unclear if they were refugees from the *Inca* or Spanish invasions. As reported by Barrett, this tradition is very strong even now, four centuries after the Conquest, permeating various divergent activities of the *Cayapa*, who date many techniques and artifacts in terms of pre- or post-migration practices. In 1907 Beuchat and Rivet had pointed to toponymic and archeological similarities between Esmeraldas Province and the *Cara* country in the Highlands. Later work by Jijón y Caamaño (1912, 1919, 1940–45, vol. 2) has strengthened the case for *Chibchan* affiliation of the *Cara* language and given a measure of confirmation to native tradition.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Agriculture is the main occupation of the *Cayapa*, although fishing and hunting supply a large percentage of their food. Each house is surrounded by clearings and fields, and additional clearings are customarily made away from the river, in the bush. Most families have fields of plantains, bananas, sugarcane, coca, and sweet manioc (yuca); in addition, cotton, tobacco, maize, yams, and pineapples are frequently cultivated. Many wild plants are encouraged through weeding and other care.

Plantains (pl. 60, *bottom, right*) form the staple food of the *Cayapa*, and each family will have several acres planted to this perennially ripening fruit. Bananas are fed to the hogs and cover an acreage almost as large as that of the plantain.

PLATE 60.—**Colorado and Cayapa Indians.** *Top (left)*: Colorado man, early 20th century. *Top (right)*: Tsáchela (Colorado) man wearing silver nose ornament. *Bottom (left)*: Tsáchela (Colorado) men playing marimba. *Bottom (right)*: Cayapa harvest of plantains. (After Rivet, 1905, opp. p. 178; after Von Hagen, 1939, pls. 7, 10; and after Barrett, 1925, pl. 60.)

[p. 284(D)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
. SD6 Cayapa SD6

At an early age the girls are instructed in household duties of all kinds, and often begin to spin and weave, as well as to make pottery, basketry, and other articles, at the age of five or six years. They also take a hand in agriculture when very small. As they grow older and become more proficient in these various arts, they enter more and more into the regular daily work of the home, until they finally marry, which they usually do at an early age, often at about seventeen or eighteen years.

The daily life of the men is also a busy one. They do their share of the work in the fields, besides being industrious hunters and fishermen. They are expert woodworkers, making very excellent canoes, paddles, benches, images used as toys by children, musical instruments, certain cooking utensils, and various other objects of wood. They make and tend the fish corrals, as well as set the seines when the water is in a favorable condition to divert fish to certain places. In addition to trapping and netting fish, they also do much fishing with hook and line. They hunt a great deal and procure a very important part of the food supply in that way, for the jungle abounds in many kinds of game. When about the house, they are, like the women, almost always busy at something, as adzing a canoe, weaving a net, or doing some one of the many kinds of work which fall to the man's lot in the Cayapa division of labor. Since the introduction of needles and thread among the Cayapa, the men have taken up sewing and have become very efficient tailors for their simple needs.

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few restrictions are placed

upon the children, and punishment is very rarely necessary. The children usually play together amicably, and the considerate care given by elder children to their young brothers and sisters is especially noticeable. The agriculture practised by the Cayapa requires a great deal of labor in connection with the various crops, especially plantains, sugar-cane, and cacao. In this cultivation the whole family joins, the children, even when very small, cheerfully doing their share in clearing away the weeds and brush that grow so rapidly in the tropics, and in harvesting the crops.

The children have various amusements, though no games in the ordinary sense of the term. They have several kinds of toys. Musical tops, such as those shown in pl. LXXXV, 2-5, made of gourds and certain large nuts, are much used. Wooden dolls of various mammal, bird, and human forms, such as those shown in pl. LXXXIV, are also much used. They have toy canoes varying from a few inches to several feet in length, and toy paddles for use with them. These canoes and paddles they use a great deal, especially when swimming, which is a very common and healthful amusement among both sexes.

The children are trained to this canoe life from infancy, and one of the first toys of a child is a paddle. At a very early age children are instructed in its use, so that even at the age of five or six years a child can take a small canoe and paddle along the river for short distances.

The children also play with small baskets, fans, mats,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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Food and its Preparation

241 262 The territory of the Cayapa is abundantly supplied by nature with both vegetal and animal foods, the former being the more important. In addition, various introduced vegetal foods are now raised by the natives, the most notable of which are plantains, bananas, sugar-cane, yuca, pineapples, cacao, and sweet potatoes. There are also various introduced fruits, such as guabos, caimitos, sapotin, papayas, and, to a limited extent, coconuts. In addition to these, many species of wild plants and trees yield foods; especially is this true of the palms, such as chonta dura and palma real.

224 262 The jungle abounds in a great variety of mammals and birds, most of which furnish food for the Indians. The mammals mostly used are the guanta and the guatin, two large species of rodents, the peccary, the wild-hog, the deer, the jaguar, the puma, the ocelot, a small species of red squirrel, a large species of wood-rat, the sloth, the ant-eater, and the armadillo. The birds most used as food are two species of grouse, two species of wild turkey, two species of toucan, and several species of dove. The rivers abound in various kinds of fish, several of which are eaten by the Cayapa. A species of lobster is also plentiful in the streams, and there is a very small mussel-like bivalve which is consumed to a limited extent. Reptiles of all kinds are abundant, although the boa and certain other species of large serpents occur in the region. The iguana and its eggs are much prized as food, and numbers of these large lizards are taken in the season when they come down

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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AGRICULTURE

As before stated, the Cayapa practise agriculture to such an extent that it may be considered their chief occupation, for by it are produced their chief food supply and also certain materials used in textiles. Under agriculture should be classed not only the introduced domesticated plants, but also certain indigenous vegetal growths which are cared for to a greater or lesser extent. These various products are in large measure raised for consumption by the Indians themselves, but some are sold in the settlements at the mouth of the river.

The regular Cayapa dwelling, as before stated, is situated near the bank of the river, and is almost always flanked, usually on both sides, by clearings and fields. Plantains, bananas, sugar-cane, cacao, cotton, yuca, zacachera, pineapples, yams, tobacco, corn, coconuts, rubber, and certain herbs are grown by the Indians. The first five of these are almost invariably found in the fields immediately adjacent to the house. Some of the other products mentioned, such as yams, corn, coconuts, and yuca, are not raised by all the Indians, and rubber is more frequently grown at some distance from the house, as it thrives better under special soil conditions. In addition to these nearby fields, frequently a favorable location for more or less extensive plantings in the hills is found along the banks of some estero and at a considerable distance from the river. By some of the Indians it is claimed that the plantain grows better at some distance from the main stream, as does also "pita," the plant which yields the tough

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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241 white fibers used in making one kind of string. In all cases, however, such fields are comparatively near some stream, thus enabling those who cultivate them to travel back and forth in canoes and to transport readily the product of the fields to their homes.

245 The most important vegetal product of the Cayapa fields is the plantain, the uses of which as a food have already been discussed. The plantain, like the banana, is grown from root-stocks, never from seed. After the planting of one of these root-stocks, nine to ten months of growth are required before the first racime of fruit is harvested; but while the stalk bearing this first racime is coming to maturity, several small shoots from the parent root-stock are developing, so that within a few weeks after the harvesting of the first racime a second is matured, and so on indefinitely. Thus when a field of plantain is once established, it practically never needs replanting, provided, of course, it is properly tended and cleared of the rapidly-growing brush and weeds. Each root in such a field will mature a stalk and a racime of fruit about once every four to six weeks the year round, there being practically no seasons or seasonal changes in this region. A stalk bears but a single racime, and this is so heavy that, as the young fruits make their appearance, a prop is always placed against the trunk of the plant upon the side on which the racime hangs. When the fruits are well filled, but while they are yet green, the entire stalk is chopped down with a machete. This is done for the reason that the stalk bears but a single racime and would therefore naturally die after

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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ears each. These bunches are then hung from the roof to prevent attacks by rodents. Whenever possible the corn is hung where the heat from the fire will keep it from molding.

The foregoing are the chief agricultural food products of the Cayapa. Excepting the maize and the potato, all were introduced since the Spanish conquest and are now systematically cultivated. In this connection should be mentioned certain palms which provide food of one kind or other, and which, while they cannot be strictly classed under the head of agriculture, since they are not planted and tended as are the other plants mentioned, are of considerable economic importance.

One of these palms is that commonly known by the Spanish name chonta dura and called kanō'tci by the Cayapa. One variety of this produces a cluster of red fruits, another a cluster of yellow fruits. The Cayapa name for the fruit of this palm is ka'imbi. Both ripen in the late summer months and are much esteemed as food. By means of a long hooked bamboo pole, these clusters are torn from just below the crown of the palm, which is usually quite tall. The fruits are boiled in a cooking-pot or kettle; the tough skin is then easily peeled off, leaving the yellowish mealy meat ready to eat. In the center of this, in turn, is a very hard nut which, when cracked, yields a toothsome white meat with a flavor resembling that of ripe coconut. The mealy yellow meat is usually eaten with a little salt, but is especially good when eaten with a thick syrup made from cane juice. It is also frequently boiled in this syrup, the result being a kind of conserved fruit.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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species now used, the one producing a globular fruit called wa'lyū, and the other an ellipsoidal fruit called cā'lya, were introduced here from Colombia. Every house is provided with one or more of these trees, and usually at least one of each of the two species. These large gourd-like fruits are produced in considerable numbers by such a tree and find a variety of uses. They are gathered when just ready to turn from green to ripe and are immediately hollowed out into utensils of several kinds. The details of manufacture and the uses of these utensils are treated on pages 166–173.

Another fruit, some species of which are said to be indigenous and some introduced, which is found abundantly in this region, is what is called by the local Spanish name gualso or guaba. This requires no cultivation, but the trees are carefully guarded against destruction. It is rarely if ever purposely planted, but grows from the accidental dropping of seeds. In the vicinity of almost every house there are several trees of one or more of these species. The fruits, which grow in long pods, are much esteemed and are almost invariably eaten raw. Each variety has its own special name, as follows:

Cayapa	*Spanish*
mam'-pa cīlyū,	gualso de machetas (machete gualso, so named on account of the shape of the pod).
ni'kpa cīlyū,	gualso de tarugos.
pī' cīlyū,	gualso dulce (sweet gualso). The Cayapa name signifies "water gualso."
nā' cīlyū,	gualso agrio (sour gualso). The Cayapa name also signifies "sour gualso."
pū' cīlyū,	gualso.

of the current. Those going up-stream beg the bank as the pilot digs the tip of his oar blade into the bank, or if the channel is shallow enough, into the bed, and then, placing both hands about two feet up the oar handle, he shoves back, sending the canoe ahead.

Farm land lies on varying distances back from the river. Each house is backed by a clearing which is used for garden crops or sugar cane. The main farm lands extend back from the river from one to three miles. Flat land is at a premium, and the cultivators walk up and down the many hills.

Cayapa Physical Appearance. Although no systematic measurements were made, it was apparent from gross observations that Barrera's (1925:438-440) measurements are still valid. He described the Cayapas as short

> . . . the men averaging only 155 cm. and the women only 146 cm. The range of individual variation among the men, as also among the women, is 14 cm. Among the men there are at least a few individuals who appeared to be somewhat taller than the maximum here given, but as a tribe the Cayapa must be considered somewhat below average in stature (Barrera 1925:438).

They appear to be evenly brachycephalic. The hair is thick, coarse, black and straight; their skin, light

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small temporary shelters called by the Spanish term *ranchos*. In general construction these *ranchos* are similar to the permanent houses, but they may be only a foot or two off the ground. As the property holdings of most Cayuga are scattered, many build second permanent houses at other convenient sites and alternate residences as the farming situation fluctuates. If relatives have a house in the area already, then a new house need not be built, and shelter is taken with the kin. It is possible for a family to have no permanent abode of its own but rather to shift back and forth between relatives who happen to live near their property. This, however, is a very rare occurrence, and in the few cases recorded, I suspect that it is temporary. A "complete" person "or *kaihwa ongiyaa*" or he fully which should be master of his own house. Sadoine Skye, for example, was living with relatives, but he was bewitched and suffered from many illnesses, and in addition his land was "ejected" by windstorm. Despite this, he still felt that the best thing for him to do was to get some land elsewhere, and set up an independent household.

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Subsistence Activities. Farming is the main occupation

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of the Cayapa and the Negroes of the area. The extreme humidity of the region, coupled with the saturated, heavy clay soil that predominates, precludes slash and burn cultivation. The Cayapa region is just on the very southern edge of the area marked by a peculiar diagnostic trait:

> . . . slash-mulch cultivation, of probable Indian origin, has evolved. Seeds are broadcast and chiamoes and cuttings are planted in an uncleared plot; then the bush is cut; decay of cut vegetable matter is rapid, forming a thick mulch through which the sprouts from the seeds and cuttings appear within a week or two days (West 1957: 129).

The main food crops are maize /pí$\tilde{\text{e}}$u/, plantain /pándu/, sugar cane /kía/, sweet manioc /kúi$\tilde{\text{e}}$u/, Xanthosoma sagittifolium, a taro-like aroid tuber called /tóa/, squash /ki/, pineapple /kíi$^{?}$u/, beans /méiku/, and bananas /sada/. The latter were universally considered to be starvation food, and prior to the present world market demand for them, were fed to the pigs. There are many fruits such as papaya /papá^{i}ya/, oranges /náwa/, lemons /nómu/, zapote /napóte/, guabo /kíi$^{?}$u/, chirimoya (= cherimoia). Some sweet potatoes are grown, but they are scarce due to the depredations of

pigs who find them especially delectable. The Cayapa seldom plant cassava, but the Negroes do so whenever possible. Important palms are the tagua and the chontaduro. The tagua nut was formerly an extremely important economic product: its hard seed was in constant demand on the world market for the manufacture of shirt buttons. With the rapid development of the plastics industry some thirty years ago, the market for tagua seeds completely collapsed. The Cayapa still talk nostalgically of the days when money did apparently grow on trees. Though its export value has declined, the tagua palm, nevertheless, is still important to the internal economy: the leaves are used extensively for roof thatching, the nut is a minor item in the diet, and when the tree dies, the /wiñu/, a delectable and very oily grub can be dug out of the trunk. Both men and women may work in the gardens. Generally speaking, however, the men clear the garden and the women plant the seeds or roots. Men and women may harvest the crops.

The staff of life for the inhabitants of the Pacific lowland culture area is the plantain which is found in many varieties. It may be eaten green or

position. She generally controls the finances and is consulted before any major purchase is made. If a large sale is made--for example, that of a canoe--she is on hand to count the money. During fishing she takes out the money to her husband for his purchases. It is not at all unusual to see a man, already quite drunk, skins, shoulds, shotguns, canoe, and even his wife for a few coins. He usually gets it, but ever so begrudgingly. A man and his wife work the fields together and she is adept in the use of a machete. They seem to be in agreement on most things that involve the house and their children. When a child is punished he rarely seeks aid and comfort from the other parent. Children were never seen playing one parent off against the other. It is doubtful whether this would ever occur to a child. Similarly, parents do not use their children as foils for their own individual advantages.

If grandparents are residing in the home, they are treated with respect by their children and grandchildren. The grandchildren often call them "father" and "mother." Unless they are bedridden, the grandparents do a full share of work, and they continue working until

view this process. The daughter-in-law is expected to help her mother-in-law when needed, but as both women have to work with and cook for their respective husbands, no onerous burdens are placed on the daughter-in-law. The household has no discretion as such. Each nuclear family attends to its own tasks. If asked, they aid in the planting and weeding of the gardens of other co-residents but only if this does not detract from their own work. In temporary web-visits a man works for his in-laws in the following way. A man works with the man who married his sister but not with brothers of his brother-in-law. On the other hand, a man is expected on request, to work for any of the brothers and/or parents of his wife.

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Distant kin who may be referred to just as "family" may be resident in the household for varying periods of time, sometimes for years. No special disabilities are entailed and behavior is as described for close kin.

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Compadrazgo. The indispensible mark of Iberian contact in the New World is in the social institutions

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